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CONTENTS

The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache
Mark F. Boyd

Some Experiences of Bishop Young
Edgar Legare Pennington

Letters from East Florida (1843)
Dorothy Dodd

The Paxton, Leslie Papers:
A letter of *William Paxton* to John Forbes

Society Notes

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THE FORTIFICATIONS AT SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE

(ST. MARKS, WAKULLA CO., FLORIDA)

BY MARK F. BOYD

The region of Apalache and of its bay on the Gulf coast seem to have been ignored by the Spaniards following the departure of De Soto from this vicinity after overwintering here in 1539-40. Certainly we are not aware of its further mention in available records until the arrival of the Christianizing Franciscan fathers in 1633, who probably, as did De Soto, came overland, but in the latter instance from St. Augustine. The garrison of St. Augustine had been leading a precarious existence from the inadequacy and insufficiency of their attempts to grow provender about the city, and the uncertainty of the arrival of emergency supplies from Havana. It must have been with great relief that accounts of the productivity and fertility of the Apalache fields were received. In a time of scarcity, a frigate was despatched from St. Augustine to Apalache in 1639. Fray Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo¹ who leaves us the account, says that the voyage had never been made previously, made owing to expected difficulties. It was, however, made in thirteen days, and great advantage to St. Augustine was anticipated as a consequence. The practicability of the route having been demonstrated, it appeared to become well used. Although few descriptions of these supply voyages have survived, there are several references thereto.

NOTE—This
historical

paper was read in part before the Tallahassee Historical Society at a session held on October 10, 1935

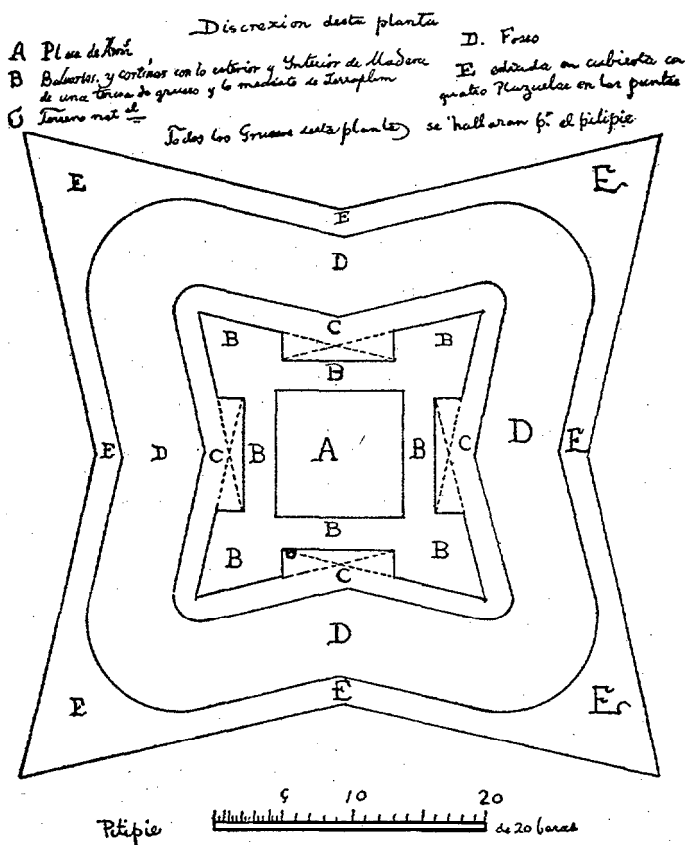
Thus Captain Juan de Florencia² relates that in 1646 he brought the frigate "San Martin" from the province of Apalache to St. Augustine with the supplies for that presidio. These vessels did not always escape the perils of the voyage. Thus we learn that in 1668, when a drouth shortened the maize harvest about St. Augustine, it was necessary to secure supplies from Apalache³. A frigate belonging to Ignacio de Losa was sent from Apalache to St. Augustine with a cargo of maize. When eight days out of port a tempest was encountered and she was shipwrecked off Carlos harbor with no loss of life.

While accounts of the commercial activities at the port of Apalache are fragmentary, accounts of a settlement there are altogether lacking. It would appear that a settlement of some consequence had developed at San Marcos by 1683, since on the map of Florida⁴ drafted in that year, which represents the missions in Apalache, that of San Marcos is designated as a Villa, all other localities being described as pueblos.

The need for a fortification at San Marcos was early appreciated and apparently recommended to the court, for reference is found to a Royal Cedula of 1662 inquiring why the port had not been fortified. In reply, Governor Francisco de Avila Orejon states⁵ that there was no one available in Florida with sufficient skill to design such a work, and that the viceroy could not supply a competent person. The question continued to receive attention in official correspondence for several years. However, some time shortly before 1680, a fort was finally built at the port.

In the first half of 1682, French and English buccaneers made several raids along the gulf coast of Florida from a base on Anclote Keys. They were reported to number four hundred men. They captured seven vessels trading between Apalache, Havana and Vera Cruz. Finally they slipped into the port of Apalache, surprised the fort and captured it without resistance from its garrison of forty-five Spaniards and four hundred odd Indians, who fled the river banks. The victorious pirates burned the fort, which was of wood, but did not immediately withdraw from the coast ⁶. In June of the same year, a party said to have been composed of about thirty-five Frenchmen, stole up the San Martin river (Suwanne) and surprised the hacienda of Don Tomas Mendez Marquez in Alachua, capturing the proprietor and his household, who were carried off with the idea of ransom. The pirates were surprised at dawn by a band of Timucuan Indians, and in the confusion Don Tomas escaped. He reported to St. Augustine that the pirates had been repulsed by the Indians in a later raid on Apalache, made with the intention of securing provisions from a balandra destined for Havana. Don Tomas further reported that the pirates offered to release him and the other prisoners on the delivery of a ransom payment of one hundred fifty cattle and an unspecified amount of money ⁷ and that they were also planning a raid on St. Augustine.

Governor Juan Marques de Cabrera had hardly obeyed a royal command of 1680 ⁸ for an account of the first fort, when he was confronted by the crisis resulting from the pirate raids and its destruction.



Tracing of a map in the Buckingham Smith MMS, evidently the Robertson No. 1683, in which it is ascribed to April 28, 1685, although itself bearing no date. It more likely is the plan referred to in the letter of Marques Cabrera to Charles II dated St. Augustine, Oct. 7, 1682 (Robertson No. 1859). Courtesy of New York Historical Society.

Legend - A. Parade ground. B. Bastions and curtains with interior and exterior of wood, of a third of the thickness, and between them the terreplein. C. Original ground level. D. Ditch or moat. E. Covered way with four small parade grounds at the points.

These emergencies lead to the early construction of a second fort under the direction of an engineer, Don Juan de Siscara, who was sent from Havana for the purpose. A plan and description of the second edifice are preserved to us in a letter from the Governor to the King⁹. This was a quadrangular structure of wood with bastions at the corners. It was small in size, having a parade ground about sixty feet square, and was considered defendable by a garrison of twelve to sixteen men. Command was given to Capt. Francisco Fuentes, an experienced soldier of the Guale frontier. It is specifically mentioned to have been located at the point of land between the rivers.

We lack information regarding the fate of this fort during Colonel Moore's victorious raid into Apalache in the winter of 1704. Moore successfully depopulated the country and destroyed the utility of Apalache as a granary for St. Augustine, so that the Spaniards appear to have completely withdrawn from the region.

The raid of Colonel Moore into Apalache was a phase of the struggle waged between the English and Spaniards for commercial supremacy in the trade with the Creek villages along the Chattahoochee river. The English had been prosecuting this trade from Charleston as a base, the Spanish from Apalache. With the Spanish base destroyed the English enjoyed supremacy in this trade for several years.

Previous to Moore's attack, the French, coming down the Mississippi river, had become additional competitors for the Creek trade. Anticipating rivalry from this source, the Spanish barely beat the

French to the occupation of Pensacola bay in 1698, who were forced to content themselves with the occupation of Mobile bay where they established themselves in 1702. After the destruction of the Apalache colonies, the Spanish largely maintained contact with the Creeks through Pensacola. Trouble in South Carolina induced many of the remnants of the Apalachees and other tribes to remove and to locate themselves in the vicinity of the Creeks along the Chattahooche and resume relations with the Spanish.

During the period of abandonment this wooden fort of San Marcos must have fallen into complete decay.

Meanwhile the Spanish influence among the Creeks was growing stronger, and owing to partisanship the tribe became divided into English and Spanish factions. The faction supporting the Spanish interests urged the erection of a new fort for their protection in the vicinity of the Creek nation. In 1716¹⁰ we find that such a project was actually under consideration. Finally it was decided to occupy the old site at San Marcos, and on the 20th of February, 1718, Captain Don Joseph Primo de Ribera left St. Augustine with a force of about seventy men to re-establish the fort, and arrived on the site on the 18th of March¹¹. De Ribera's provisions had been despatched from St. Augustine in a balandra at the time of his departure, but non-arrival of the vessel threatening to interfere with his operations, he asked for help from Pensacola. . . On the return to Pensacola, the officer who had delivered the provisions observed a French vessel in St. Joseph's bay,

and ascertained that the French intended to erect an establishment there. On receiving this news, the governor sent de Ribera some small re-inforcements, and the French were given orders to evacuate St. Joseph's. They departed quietly. With the re-establishment of the fort at San Marcos, two villagers of Apalache Indians returned to the vicinity.

This structure was apparently the fort visited by the French priest Charlevoix, on the occasion of his return to Biloxi along the coast after his shipwreck on the Florida keys¹². He says "the fort is built on a small eminence surrounded with marshes and a little above the confluence of the two rivers. It is a small stone fort of a square form with regular bastions." At this time the garrison was particularly alert, because of the recent encroachment of the French in Bay St. Joseph, and Charlevoix speaks of the fort as built of stone, an evidently erroneous statement.

In the course of time the desirability of colonizing the Apalache region began to be discussed. In a letter to the King, written from San Marcos, Feb. 8, 1732, Don Antonio de Benavides¹³ who was visiting the province in compliance with royal orders, refers to the colonization project of the engineer Don Carlos Blondeau, who planned the establishment in Apalache of a villa or town to be called La Tama. The location of the chosen site is not disclosed, but we suspect that the ruins observed by Williams on the present site of Tallahassee afford a clue. Benavides refers to the existing fort at San Marcos as a wooden structure, and recommends two companies of infantry of fifty men each, and two

companies of dragoons of one hundred men each for the garrisoning of San Marcos and La Tama. We have not as yet encountered documents which indicate that this project was realized. We do find that Don Antonio de Arrendondo ¹⁴ in 1738 advocates the colonization of Apalache because of its fertility, and shows that, owing to its remoteness from St. Augustine, motives of defense necessitate a strong settlement. A nucleus of eighty families was recommended, which for motives of economy should be transported directly from Havana to San Marcos rather than via St. Augustine. The letter was written a few days before his departure for Apalache under royal orders "to repair the present fort of San Marcos and place it in a condition of defense and respect."

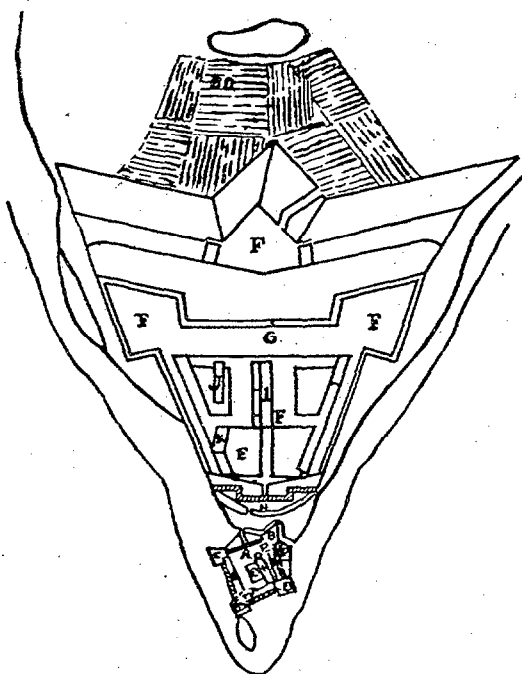
The fort of San Marcos is also described in a letter to the King from Governor Montiano written a few days previously to that of Arredondo, as a wooden, not a stone structure. ¹⁵ He says "the fort of San Marcos de Apalache is a square of ten toises a side, with four small bastions, built of stakes and wood, very indefensible without ditch or exterior fortification. It is situated at the concourse of two rivers which discharge in the sea at a distance of two leagues. Its port is for balandras and [other] small vessels, and the ground where the fort is situated is swampy and innundated by the greater floods of the two rivers." It is unlikely that this is a different structure from that seen by Charlevoix, and evidently is the one figured in the Colonial office map ¹⁶ probably drafted by Pittman.

This shows the fort of this period to have been a small rectangle of about sixty feet square located

just at the point of confluence of the rivers, to the south of where the stone fort was later built. At each corner were bastions, named respectively the milk bastion, the bastion of St. Francis Xavier, the bastion of All Souls and the bastion of St. Joseph. Within the walls were a church, a lookout, a storehouse and barracks.

The generally recognized weakness of the fort must have lead before this to a discussion of the desirability of a stone structure, as a representative of Quilate, chief of the Apalachicola Indians¹⁷ in July of 1738, came to St. Marks to verify a rumor that a contingent of laborers had arrived to begin the construction of a *castillo*.

The date when construction of the stone fort was initiated is at present uncertain but was undoubtedly subsequent to 1738. The stone tablet figured by Taylor and Choate¹⁸ as having been taken from the ruins of the fort, states that it was built in 1739 by Don Juan de Catilla, probably to be taken as the year when work was begun. On the other hand, the memorial to Congress presented by the stockholders of the Tallahassee Railroad Company¹⁹ states that the fort was erected by the government of Spain in 1759. Apparently designed to be a triangular structure with bastions on each corner, the apex pointing south to the point at the junction of the rivers, it was not completed by the time of the cession of Florida to England. In fact it would appear that as late as 1758 it was so incomplete that the garrison was housed in the old wooden fort. A hurricane that year flooded the old fort, drowning forty men.¹⁶



Plan of the Fort at Appalache called Fort St. Mark, with projects for its reparation and defense. Portion of an undated map in H.M.S. State Paper Office, London. Draftsman of original unknown, endorsed "Copy W. Brasier". The Waukulla river is called the "Guacara" and the St. Mark river the "Detacabona".

Legend---A. Fort of wood indefensible which was overflowed in 1758, when forty men were drowned. B. Milk Bastin (n.e.) C. Bastion of St. Francis Xavier (n.w) D. Bastion of All Souls (s.w) E. Bastion of St. Joseph (s.e) F. New fort to be constructed. G. The curtain already begun, which in one part is 8 feet high and 15 toises in length, and the other twenty-three toises in length and five feet high. H. A horn work that was built to defend the old fort. I. Place built for the master mason and workmen. J. The Forge, a store and guardhouse. K. An oven and carpenter shop. P. Battery of two guns (east of A). Q. The Church (east of the look-out in A). R. The Look-out (center of- A). S. The storehouse (west side of A). T. The Barracks (south and east sides of A).

The legend on a Spanish map ²⁰ of Florida drawn in 1768, states that the fort was not half completed when it was delivered to the English. Meanwhile dynastic considerations had lead the Spanish crown into an alliance with France, then engaged in the Seven Years War, as a result of which Spain declared war on England in 1761. An aggressive English campaign resulted in the capture of Havana on the 10th of October, 1762. The war was closed by the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Havana was restored to Spain, and Florida was ceded to England. It does not appear that the actual transfer of San Marcos to English troops took place before 1764.

The only reports we have discovered relating to the English administration are to be found in the Haldimand papers. The earliest we have discovered is a garrison report dated May 14, 1766, ²¹ at which time the garrison at Apalache, as the fort was designated consisted of a force of fifty-six men, from the ninth regiment of foot under the command of Lieut. George Swettenham, who reported to General Haldimand at Pensacola.

It was during this year that M. Pierre Viaud ²² a Frenchman sailing from Santo Domingo to Louisiana in the brigantine Tiger was wrecked on the coast of St. Georges island, and who, with two other survivors, were rescued by a detachment from the fort after breathless adventures. A certificate from Lieut. Swettenham attests to the accuracy of Viaud's published narrative.

This, year is also memorable for a hurricane which occurred on the 23rd ²³ of October. It was accompanied by twelve feet of water. The storm did considerable damage to the fort, and subsequent

reports from the commanders of the post stress its condition of ill repair.

It would appear that the British estimate of the importance of the post declined during the year, as Lieut. Swettenham was succeeded in command by Ensign Wright.

It apparently was in 1767 that Apalache was visited by Lieut. Pittman²⁴ who has left us the best description extant of the fort. The map previously referred to¹⁶ may date from this visit. A sketch of the appearance of the fort as viewed from the south is to be found on one of the sheets²⁵ of Romans's map of Florida. According to the ordinance report²⁶ for October 1, 1766, the fort had mounted two long six pounders on carriages, two long four pounders on carriages and two half pound swivel guns.

In March, 1767, General Thomas Gage, commanding the British forces in North America, wrote to General Haldimand asking that he acquaint him of any use which the fort was to the service, an inquiry expressive of the attitude toward the post.²⁷ However a garrison continued to be maintained during 1767 and 1768, although reduced to 20 men.

Gage's inquiry probably determined Haldimand to dismantle the fort, as a letter from Governor Grant to General Gage is extant,²⁸ dated St. Augustine 1768, indicating that such was Haldimand's intention. Governor Grant was unwilling to entirely relinquish the post, and was arranging with a Mr. Gordon to establish a trading house there in order to keep the fort in some sort of repair. Grant, in fact, plead with Haldimand not to dismantle it, and to keep a few men there until the trader arrived. This evidently transpired and the fort was aban-

doned as a British military post, and apparently was never again occupied, even after Spain declared war on England in 1779. On May 9, 1781, with the capitulation of Pensacola to Galvez, all West Florida was surrendered to Spain; and by the treaty of Versailles, signed in 1783 England ceded East and West Florida to Spain.

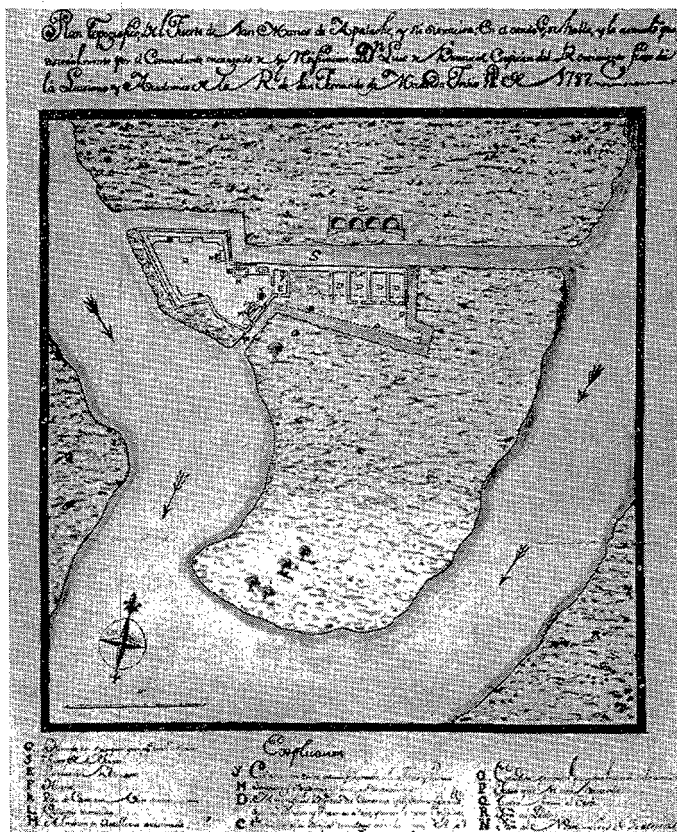
Before these events occurred, a group of young men, William Panton, John Leslie, and Thomas Forbes had been associated in the Indian trade at Charleston, Frederica and Savannah, under the name of Panton, Leslie and Company. Remaining loyal during the American Revolution, and much harrassed as a consequence, they transferred their business to St. Augustine and Pensacola in the then still loyal British province of Florida. The Creek Indians had become firmly attached to the British, and supported the British side in the Revolution. During this disturbed period, the house of Panton, Leslie and Company continued their trade with the Creeks, and by the end of the Revolution, a young Creek half breed chief, Alexander McGillivray, had formed a close attachment with William Panton. The Creeks remained ardently pro-British after the war, and the Spanish government wisely decided that the easiest manner in which they could secure and maintain Creek support to prevent American pressure on the Florida and Louisiana frontiers, was to permit the house of Panton, Leslie and Company to continue trading operations among the Creeks from Florida trading houses, even though this violated their otherwise inflexible regulation which expelled all other English Protestants from Florida,, and only required oaths of obedience rather than allegiance from the members of the firm and their employees. On recommendation of the provin-

cial governors the firm acquired extensive privileges and soon enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade through Florida bases.^{29,30}

In 1783, Charles McLatchey a member of the firm, established a trading post in Apalache near St. Marks.³⁰ This was located on the west side of Wakulla river, about two miles above its junction with St. Marks, and in the next year, through the intercession of Creek influence, official sanction was given for the continuance of the post. In the meantime, Spanish officials had negotiated a treaty with the Creeks, whereby the Indians granted permission to the Spaniards to re-occupy the fort of St. Marks. In 1785, the Spanish added Apalache to the jurisdiction of West Florida. It does not appear that the Spaniards re-occupied the old fort until 1787.³¹

Meantime, some merchants of Providence island in the Bahamas, with the support of Governor Dunmore of those islands, determined to compete, regardless of the approval of the Spanish authorities, with Panton, Leslie and Co., for the Creek trade. They selected William Bowles, a loyalist and adopted Creek, to act as their agent. In 1787 Bowles returned to the Creek country, and later proceeded to St. Marks to await the arrival of a cargo of trade goods. He threatened to attack the Spanish garrison if the authorities attempted to interfere with the landing of the goods. The threat succeeded and the goods were conveyed into the interior.³¹

Bowles shortly returned to the Bahamas and convinced his backers that a successful filibustering expedition directed against the Florida posts of Panton, Leslie and Company might ruin them and break the monopoly. An armed force under his leadership



Topographical plan of the Fort of San Marcos de Apalache and of its situation: showing the condition in which returned and the provisional plans by the Commandant for its modification. Don Luis de Bertecat, Captain of the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana and Member of the Royal Academy of San Fernando of Madrid. July 18. 1787. (Papeles de Cuba, A.G.I. Sevilla, leg. 1393).

Legend-G. Bastion without parapet. S. Moat of the fort. E. Gate of the Bastion. F. Oven. K. Well in good condition. L. Demolished kitchen. H. Magazine for artillery, in ruins. Y. Guard house in good repair except for lack of ceiling and door. M. Washing places. D. Magnificent vaults of hewn stone. C. Elevation of the vaults along the line A-B. O. Provisional stockade in course of construction. P. Ditch under construction. Q. Mainland to the West. R. Mainland to the East. N. Mainland to the North.

failed to capture Pantón's store on the St. Johns, whereupon Bowles lead his men across the peninsula to Apalache with the idea of attacking the store at St. Marks (1788), but both the fort and store were too strongly fortified to warrant the attempt.³⁰

In 1790 the Spanish authorities made extensive repairs to the fort and made it habitable for the garrison. As repaired, its condition is shown in the plan prepared by Don Luis de Bertucat, which is reproduced by Whitaker.³² The work performed did not look to the completion of the original design.

The zeal of Bowles's animosity towards Pantón, Leslie and Company did not abate with this failure. In January, 1792, he lead a party of Indians against the Apalache store which he succeeded in capturing.³¹ The losses experienced by the firm formed the basis of their earliest claims against the Indians, which lead to the land cession, well known as the Forbes Purchase.

Bowles was now becoming a source of concern to the Spanish authorities. On orders of Governor Carondelet he was decoyed to New Orleans in March, 1792, seized, and as a prisoner conveyed to Spain. For nearly eight years he was absent from the Apalache stage. During this time he was transported to the Philippines for banishment, but there he became so obnoxious he was sent back to Spain. Escaping en route, he made his way to England from whence he went to Jamaica. With a number of recruits he set sail in August, 1799, in H.B.M. Schooner *Fox*. Attempting to reach the mouth of the Ocklocknee river, they were wrecked on St. Georges island.³⁵

Previous to his capture, Bowles had an establishment of sorts on the Ocklochnee river, probably the place referred to by Williams³³ under the name of Oldenburg.

During 1799 Andrew Ellicott, as U. S. Commissioner, was engaged in marking the international boundary line between the United States and Spanish Florida.³⁴ Having run the line as far as the Chattahoochee river, their party was prevented from running the line eastward from the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee to the head of the St. Mary's by the hostility of the Indians. Leaving the Apalachicola the party was proceeding by sea to the St. Mary's, when they encountered the wreck of the *Fox* on St. Georges island. Here he met and conversed with Bowles and gave him some assistance, although refusing to take him off.

Ellicott proceeded to St. Marks where he advised Don Tomas Portell, the commandant, of the presence of Bowles, and of his intention to attack the fort. Ellicott states that the fort was garrisoned with 100 infantry and twelve cannon.

Later, while beating along the Florida keys, Ellicott encountered the schooner *Shark*, belonging to Panton, Leslie and Co., which was being sent to Nassau as a prize, having been captured by the shipwrecked crew of the *Fox*.

Bowles and his party soon made their way to the Ocklocknee and made camp. Here they were attacked and routed in February, 1800, by a Spanish party, from which Bowles escaped. Taking refuge in an Indian town near the site of Tallahassee, Bowles organized a force of from 300 to 400 men, nearly all Indians. In May he descended upon St. Marks, and captured the store without difficulty. Learning the Spaniards had declared him an outlaw, and knowing that England and Spain were again at war, he decided to invest the fort, an undertaking of very problematical outcome. Notwithstanding the absurdity of Bowles' undertaking, Don

Tomas Portell, the commandant, ignominiously surrendered the fort on May 19, 1800, for which he was later dismissed from the Spanish service.³⁵

A few weeks later a force under the command of Don Vidente Folch, consisting of five well armed vessels manned by one hundred and fifty men, together with four schooners transporting a company of grenadiers set sail from Pensacola to dislodge Bowles. After a short bombardment from the armed vessels, which was for a while returned, Bowles and his forces fled from the fort on June 23rd. During the next two years Bowles was very active in Florida but never again do his activities appear to have centered about St. Marks. In 1803 he was kidnapped in the Creek nation on United States soil, delivered to the Spanish authorities, taken to Havana and confined in the Morro Castle until his death.³⁵

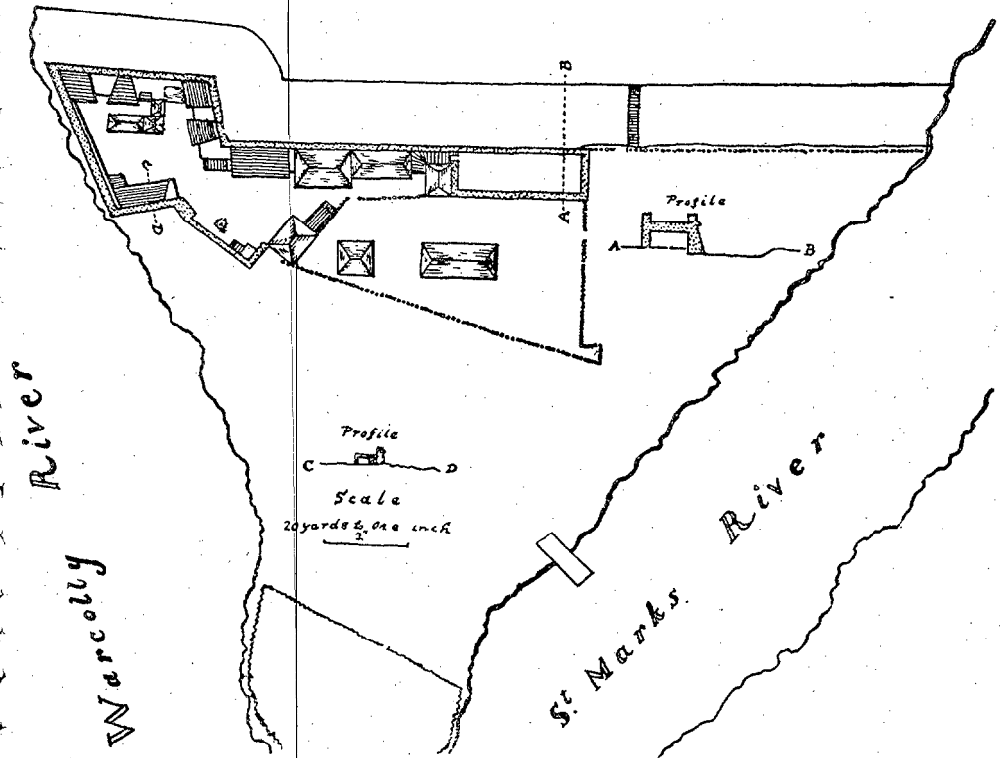
With the disappearance of Bowles from the scene, life for the garrison at Fort St. Marks appears to have become largely a matter of routine. To the Spanish authorities there seemed to be little necessity for the maintenance of the post and in 1808 its evacuation was for a time considered. Nevertheless a garrison continued to be maintained, which in 1814 was commanded by Don Francisco Caso y Luengo.

Meanwhile Spanish power had become impotent, Jackson had broken the power of the Creek nation, and had defeated English forces attacking the United States from bases in Spanish Florida. The most hostile of the Indians had fled to Florida from which as a base, and with the reported aid of the Spanish commandant at St. Marks, they were raiding the American frontier. Arbuthnot and Ambrister, British agents in the guise of traders, had taken

up the unfinished work of Bowles. The government of the United States had carried on a lively diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish court on these and other grievances, but the Spanish authorities appeared unwilling or unable to restrain the Indian raiders. Jackson was finally despatched to the frontier with an army of two thousand men and discretionary power to deal with the situation, which he employed in an extraordinary, though as it proved, highly effective manner. His army assembled on the frontier, and was immediately lead over the boundary into Florida.

After destroying the Miccosukee villages, the army marched to St. Marks, the vicinity of which was reached on the 6th of April, 1818. Encampment was made about one mile from the fort. A demand for surrender was presented by Lieut. Gadsden to the commandant of the Fort, Don Francisco Caso y Luengo, which was refused, and the fort was seized without resistance by Capt. Twiggs on the morning of the 7th. On this occasion Arbuthnot was arrested on the moment of attempted escape. The naval force co-operating with Jackson had arrived off St. Marks a few hours before Jackson, and displayed English colors. Deceived by this circumstance, the chiefs, Francis (Hillis Hadjo) and Homathlemico, the latter having been in command of the band that massacred the Scott party, boarded the vessel hoping to receive from British sources munitions with which to attack Jackson. They were promptly seized and hanged the next day. On the morning of the 9th the army departed from St. Marks for Suwannee, leaving a strong garrison in the fort. Ambrister was unexpectedly captured at Suwannee Old Town as he blundered into camp, and was brought back a prisoner to St. Marks. On the return from Suwannee, the army reached the vicinity of St.

Marks on the 25th, and encamped four miles north. Having captured the two Englishmen who were believed the chief instigators of the dissatisfaction of the Indians, Jackson convened a courtmartial on the 26th for the trial of the prisoners. The trials continued on the 27th and 28th. The court found both guilty of the charges and sentenced Arbuthnot to hanging, and at first sentenced Ambrister to be shot, later changing the sentence to whipping and imprisonment. Jackson on reviewing the cases on



Florida: St. Marks and Wacolly Rivers and defenses, 1818. Drawing by Captain J. Gadsden. Plan No. 5 accompanying Captain Gadsden's report on the defenses of the Floridas. Files of Intelligence Division, Engineer's Corps, War Department, Washington, D. C.

the following day approved of the sentence in Arbuthnot's case and disapproved the reversal in the case of Ambrister. Major Fanning was ordered to carry out the sentences on the morning of the 29th between 8 and 9 am.^{36, 37}

On the same morning the army set out on march for Fort Gadsden, leaving behind a detachment of two hundred men under Major Fanning as a garrison for the fort. The garrison included Major Fanning's own command of Company D, 4th Battalion, Artillery, as well as Captain Allison's company of 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry, and Captain Dinkin's Company of the 2nd Battalion, 4th Infantry. In July it was re-enforced by the arrival of Company M, 4th Battalion, Artillery under Captain Peters, and appears to have retained this strength until the end of 1818.⁴⁴

The reverberations from Jackson's acts in his Florida campaign were tremendous. He was assailed in Congress, the Spanish and English courts were thrown into an uproar and it appeared for a while that war might ensue. However, the evidence regarding the executed British agents was so flagrant that England receded from her position, and the masterly diplomacy of Adams mollified Spain.

It was the expressed determination of the United States authorities to retain possession of the fortifications at St. Marks and Pensacola until the Spanish government furnished garrisons which appeared adequate to the United States. Just when St. Marks was delivered to Spain we do not know. What was considered an adequate Spanish force appeared at Pensacola in September, 1819⁴³ and the American troops withdrew. It would appear that American withdrawal from St. Marks occurred several months earlier, as in the army return it does not figure sub-

sequent to February, 1819. The garrison at this time represented the units previously listed, although apparently not consisting of more than thirty-one men. It seems, however, that the withdrawal was formal. In a deposition⁴⁶ submitted in the suit instituted against the United States by Colin Mitchell to secure a patent to the Forbes grant, Joseph Y. Cruzat, a one time provincial secretary, states that he was sent as commissioner of the Provincial Government of West Florida on the occasion of the restitution of the fort St. Marks to Spain by the United States. While he does not give the date of restitution, he later says that he was at St. Marks as late as June, 1819. Spanish troops again occupied St. Marks until the final cession of Florida to the United States in 1821 under the treaty negotiated in 1819.

We do not know when the formal transfer of Fort St. Marks, under the treaty, to an American garrison took place although the date may be inferred. A communication⁴⁷ from General Jackson to the secretary of state dated from Pensacola on July 30, 1821, indicates that it was not accomplished without delays. As early as May 11th Jackson inquired of Governor Callava whether he would desire either of the American schooners Shields or Amelia, then waiting in Mobile bay with supplies for the future Ameridan garrisons, to transport the Spanish soldiers from St. Marks to Pensacola. Callava accepted the proposal and on May 22 Jackson gave Major Fanning, then at Fort Gadsden, the necessary orders for taking possession of and occupying St. Marks, and authorized Capt. Call to make arrangements for the evacuation of the Spanish troops. Callava would not agree to abandon the cannon and munitions at St. Marks, and Call was finally instructed to arrange for the transportation of two

field pieces and the ordnance stores. The Spanish troops from St. Marks finally arrived at Pensacola on the 19th of July, after a tedious voyage of thirteen days due to adverse winds, two days after the transfer of Pensacola.

In June, 1821, companies D, L, and M of the 2nd artillery constituted the garrison. In August these were relieved by Captain Bell's and Captain Hobart's companies of the 4th Artillery. The successive appearance of several other companies of the 4th Regiment of Artillery before the end of 1823 would indicate that the details were of short duration. Among these figured the commands of Captains Maris, Bell, Hobart, Sands, Burch and McClintock.

A clue to the reason for its abandonment is afforded by the correspondence of Capt. Burch. Under the provisions of the treaty executed with the Indians at Fort Moultrie in Sept., 1823, they were to be removed from middle Florida, and confined to limits on the peninsula. In a letter dated Dec. 1, 1823, Burch³⁸ expresses the opinion that it is indispensably necessary to the present security of the frontier that Fort St. Marks be occupied until the Indians are removed. The removal was effected during 1824, the last year the fort was garrisoned. In that year the garrison consisted of a company of the 4th Infantry under Captain Lear. In July most of this company was transferred and in October or November of the same year the remaining detachment was withdrawn. Thereafter Fort St. Marks does not figure in the reports of the Western Department of the Army and the War Department has no record of any other garrisons maintained there.⁴⁴ The last troops on duty here appear to

have left to join those engaged, under the direction of Captain Burch,³⁸ in the construction of the Military Road.

In 1826 rumors were afloat that the Board of Engineers of the Army had declared the fort useless for military purposes, which was denied by General Macomb in a letter to the Secretary of War. However by 1828 enterprising individuals probably with the status of squatters were making establishments on the St. Marks in and above the fort, for the reception of the trade of that part of Florida and Georgia. The same year Congress appropriated \$6000.00 for the erection of a lighthouse at St. Marks. The rugged tower and keeper's house, standing to this day, are reported to have been built with stone taken from the fort. At this time the commercial outlook for the port appeared promising, as in 1830 George Graham, Commissioner of the General Land Office, suggested to the U. S. Senate that a town be laid off at Chicago, Illinois, and another at St. Marks, Florida.

In the spring of 1833 St. Marks was visited by the English traveller Latrobe⁴² who leaves us a brief sketch of the fort at that time. He says, "The present Castellan of this deserted bulwark, which we found garrisoned by nothing but cocks, hens, pigs and rats, acts as inn keeper, and with his long scarified nose and gaunt Quixotic figure, was in perfect keeping with every thing around him. The position of the Fort was at the extreme angle of the peninsula formed by the converging streams and within its narrow walls held a crowd of diminutive buildings in an old fashioned style, with little piazzas and galleries. A kind of Donjon rose at one angle, and from its platform there was a fair look out on the unlovely landscape, and a breezy walk for

the cramped-up inhabitants. Everything was fast tumbling to ruins." These statements about its condition are confirmed by a petition ¹⁹ to Congress by stockholders of the Tallahassee Railroad Company for permission to construct a railroad on public lands, dated Dec. 16, 1834, which states that the old fort has long since been abandoned by the government as a military post and is now in a state of delapidation and ruin. Need for a hospital for seamen in St. Marks had been stressed by the collector of the port in his report for 1853, owing to the presence of yellow fever. Further inroads in the fort are reported to have been made in 1859 to secure building material for the erection of this hospital, which cost nearly \$26,000.00. At the close of the Civil War the marine hospital was returned to the Treasury Department. When, a few years later, yellow fever again became epidemic in St. Marks, it was on request temporarily transferred to the War Department. During its occupancy by the War Department, it was partly dismantled by a hurricane. In the early '80's, it was again transferred to the Treasury, although no current need for a marine hospital existed. In 1882 the building was reported as worthless, the roof being gone and only a portion of the walls standing, and the department desired to lease the grounds. The building no longer exists.

The fort was comprised in the general limits of the territory ceded by the Indians to John Forbes and Company in 1811, a grant that was not recognized by the land commissioners after American accession. The assignees of Forbes and Company carried their claim to the United States Supreme Court, in which it was upheld in 1835, reserving however to the United States the Fortress of St. Marks and the territory adjacent, that which the Indians ceded to the Crown of Spain for the pur-

pose of erecting said Fort. Colin Mitchell and associates, the victorious litigants finally laid claim to the fort itself. This claim was finally rejected by the superior Court of the Middle District of Florida and later by the U. S. Supreme Court, which reserved some 305 acres about the fort to the United States and in this form the Forbes grant was confirmed to Mitchell by patent in 1842.³⁹ A town site was laid out on the reservation and a few lots were sold, when under presidential order in 1852, all unsold lands lying south of 3rd street were reserved for military purposes.⁴⁰

During the Civil War the fort was occupied by Confederate forces, who evidently altered the structure by extending the walls southward to the point, and renamed it Fort Ward.⁴⁵ The drawing by Major Gamble which hangs in the Walker Library in Tallahassee probably represents the fort at or a few years after this period. A sketch of a view up the river from Port Leon made during the war⁴¹ shows five embrasures in the southern wall of the fort, with the marine hospital in the background. The defenses were supplemented by an earthen battery constructed on the east bank near the river's mouth, slightly to the north-west of the lighthouse, and by the sinking of a barge laden with stone in the river below Port Leon.

The Union naval forces established a blockade off St. Marks very early in the war, which apparently was continuously maintained until its close. Some of the operations of these vessels are of more than passing interest.

One of these vessels, the U. S. Bark Kingfisher, had been sending landing parties up the Aucilla river to secure, drinking water. On June 2, 1862, such a party of thirteen men in two boats were sur-

prised by Confederate forces, and the whole captured with two men killed. In reprisal the U. S. S. Takoma and the U. S. S. Somerset fired thirty-one shells at the battery near the lighthouse driving out a company of artillery. A party was then landed which destroyed this battery, and burned the barracks and the woodwork of the lighthouse. The routine of the blockade was only rarely interrupted by the capture of some small vessel either attempting to enter or leave. On Feb. 10, 1863, the U. S. S. Stars and Stripes, then on blockade duty, steamed inside Long bar near the light house and shelled a nearby Confederate encampment. A small river steamer, probably the Spray later mentioned, came down the river as far as Four Mile point, and upon being shelled, returned above the fort. A few weeks later, Lieut. Com. Crosman of the U. S. S. Somerset learned that the fort only mounted eight guns, the largest a 12 pounder, and proposed an expedition up the river to capture it and the steamer Spray and also raid Newport. On the night of July 12th apparently on his own responsibility, Crosman with one hundred thirty men in six small boats, attempted a surprise attack on the fort. They were discovered by pickets on the river bank at Port Leon, and the enterprise was abandoned. The same forces two days later destroyed salt works on Marsh island. In September and October small parties under Quarter Gunner Walton unsuccessfully endeavored to get up the river to destroy the steamer Spray, but the Admiral commanding refused to authorize further attempts to surprise the fort. The activities of the blockading forces during 1864 were confined to raids on salt works. In February parties from the U. S. Gunboat Tahoma made two raids. The first, in co-operation with refugees on shore, destroyed extensive salt works on the shore

of Taylor county below the mouth of the Warrior river. The second successfully eluded Confederate pickets on Shell point and destroyed works on Goose creek.

The most important attempt on the fort occurred during the joint land and naval operations which lead to the battle of Natural Bridge in 1865.

According to information available to the Federal authorities at that time, the fort was armed as follows: The magazine was located at the east end of the fort and made of logs. Its walls were seven feet in thickness, and higher than the parapet of the fort. At the other extremity stood a smaller magazine for the largest rifle gun. In anticipation of the Federal attack guns were removed from the Spray, land mounted in the fort. Thus increased, the fort mounted two 32 pounders rifled, one rifle gun (Parrott) one 12 pounder captured from the Union forces, and two smooth bore 32 pounders. In addition two more guns of the latter type were mounted) on a lighter.

The attack was initiated by the attempt of several vessels to ascend the river for an attack on the fort on March 4th. Later in the same day troops were disembarked near the lighthouse. After great efforts the steamers Honduras, Fort Henry, Hibiscus and Britannia succeeded in ascending about half-way to Port Leon, but the Mahaska, Spirea, and Stars and Stripes went aground. The inability of the naval forces to execute the maneuvers assigned them, retarded the schedule of the expedition, thus permitting Confederate re-enforcements to be brought up which checked the advance of the Federal forces in the battle of Natural Bridge. On learning that the Federal troops were returning, the naval vessels withdrew from the river. It is said

that at the time of the expedition, all Confederate forces, except three men had been withdrawn, that trains of explosive had been laid and orders given to blow up the fort and steamer on near approach of the gun boats.

On May 13, 1865, Brig. Gen. Ed. M. McCook, USA., reported from Tallahassee that on the previous day, "one of my officers received the surrender of the Fort (Fort Ward) at St. Marks, and at 12 m. the U. S. flag was raised over it, and a national salute fired. It is a strong fortification with an armament of eight heavy guns and well supplied with ammunition. A small gun boat, the Spray, was lying in the harbor. I parolled the officers and crew, and left the boat in charge of a marine guard from the squadron lying outside".⁴⁵

In 1892 all of the area embraced in the military reservation was transferred to the general land office, and replatted in conformity with the original survey, including the fort itself. All lots in this area were sold, so that the ruin of Fort St. Marks is now in private hands.

The strategy of Fort St. Marks is revealed by the outlook of the structure itself, which faces the land, rather than the sea. It was erected by an over-seas power to secure a foothold on the land from a sea approach. It was little esteemed by the British, who held possession of the mainland, and has been lightly valued by the United States for the same reason. Nevertheless it is one of the few relics of the Spanish colonial period remaining in Florida, and it is not to the credit of the state that it remains in private hands. It should be acquired as a state monument or park, and restored to something like its original appearance.

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NOTE—Since the foregoing was written I have come upon the following note by Dunn which fixes the date of the construction of the first fort. "A rude fort was constructed on Apalache Bay in 1677 by Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar, who was very anxious for the government to found a colony in that region. The fort was garrisoned by a detachment of thirteen men." (Hita Salazar to the King, Sept. 6, 1677; Santo Domingo, 58-1-26, 2 pp. same to same, March 6, 1680, *ibid*). W. B. Dunn, "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: The Beginning of Texas and Pensacola". University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1705, Jan. 30, 1917, page 21, ref. 22.

SOME EXPERIENCES OF BISHOP YOUNG

BY EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

The entwining network of railroads and improved highways has practically obliterated all recollection of the handicaps of travel in Florida a few decades ago. It is hard to realize that the journey made in a few hours today required days-even weeks-in the years which followed the War Between the States. So accustomed are we to thinking of our centres of population as bustling, wide-awake cities that we seldom picture them as isolated and crude communities or wretched little fishing-towns. Yet such conditions prevailed ; and the second Episcopal Bishop of Florida, the Right Reverend John Freeman Young, has given us a vivid portrayal of his experiences at a time when the state was largely a frontier.

Bishop Young was born at Pittston, Maine, October 30th, 1820. He was the successor of Francis Huger Rutledge, the first Bishop of Florida, who died November 6th, 1866. Bishop Rutledge guided the destinies of the struggling diocese through the War, and saw the small contingent which represented the Protestant Episcopal Church much impoverished and reduced. The report from St. Luke's Church, Marianna, to the Council of 1866, affords a glimpse into the field that awaited the new Bishop:

The people are much scattered, impoverished and more or less dejected, but generally full of zeal for the Church. Their house of worship, a beautiful piece of Gothic architecture, was burned to the

ground by the United States Army which captured Marianna in the fall of 1864. The ruins constantly remind them of their former glory, and have at last called them to new life, for they have taken preliminary steps to rebuild.

John Freeman Young was consecrated Bishop on the feast of St. James the Apostle, July 25th, 1867. His consecrators were the venerable John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868), the Presiding Bishop of the Church and the man who had ignored all differences between the northern and southern elements in the first General Convention after the War; John Payne (1815-1874), first missionary Bishop to Africa; Alexander Gregg (1819-1893), first Bishop of Texas; William Henry Odenheimer (1817-1879), third Bishop of New Jersey; Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900), second Bishop of Alabama, and the only Bishop consecrated by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederate States of America; and George David Cummins (1822-1876), who afterwards left the communion and became a founder of the Reformed Episcopal Church. (Living Church Annual, Morehouse, 1936, pp. 484-487).

When Bishop Young entered upon his duties, the entire state belonged to his jurisdiction. Today there are two Episcopal dioceses. Levy, Alachua, Putnam, and Flagler, and all the counties lying north of them, constitute the Diocese of Florida; while Citrus, Marion, Lake, and Volusia, and the counties south make up the Diocese of South Florida. But it was not until twenty-five years after Bishop Young's consecration that any division was made. Hence he was confronted throughout his episcopate with great distances as well as by primitive means of transportation.

On February 24th, 1868, for example, he left his home in Callahassee, in order to take the steamer for Key West on its arrival from New Orleans at St. Marks. He says: "Feb. 28, we reached the anchorage of Tampa at noon, some five miles from town, and though the wind was high and the sea heavy, and though my fellow passengers remonstrated, I resolved to accompany the mail ashore in the ship's boat." On February 29th, he left Tampa in the morning; "but did not reach Key West till Sunday evening as the bell was ringing for Church. Monday, March 2, I was compelled to return by the steamer which carried me, the trips of the steamers being on a semi-monthly."

At Key West, he learned that "the frequent visitations of this place by yellow fever render the rector's labors at times very excessive. I was glad to learn that the dissensions from which this parish suffered during and immediately after the war, and which arose from political differences, have been of late gradually subsiding." (*Journal of 1868 Convention*, p. 36).

Travel by land presented its difficulties. On April 10th of the same year, he left Quincy for Marianna; "and arrived at night, having ridden in twelve hours fifty miles, over an exceedingly rough road, without a support of any kind for my back. . . . It was my purpose to proceed from Marianna to Milton across country, but learning that the streams were barely passable and rapidly rising from recent rains, I had to abandon my purpose and reach the West by way of the Gulf." So he proceeded to Apalachicola, only to find that the boat was gone. On April 24th, he had to leave Apalachicola by way of Columbus, Georgia, and Montgomery and Mobile, Alabama, so as to reach Pensacola; he did not arrive until the 2nd of May. (*Ibid.*)

Eager to find whatever community might need the ministrations of the Church, Bishop Young proceeded on a visit of exploration in 1869, "to the upper part of the Ancilla River, some fifteen miles from Monticello." There he found "an intelligent and wealthy community of between thirty and forty families of whites, within a radius of six or eight miles. They never have any religious service whatever nearer than Monticello. On the estates of this small district there are residing and laboring more than four thousand persons of color, who scarcely have any meetings for religious or other purposes among themselves, and no schools at all, so far as I could learn. The whites and blacks alike would most gladly welcome a clergyman to officiate for both, and superintend schools for the colored children, to the support of which the parents, as some leading men assured me, would contribute according to their humble means."

Some of the hardships of sea-travel are depicted in the following description. (February 26th, 1869):

"I left Key West, with a strong norther blowing, causing a heavy sea. Though quite unseaworthy, our vessel was loaded to the water's edge with a cargo of sugar. In crossing the bar she struck twice, and in so doing, broke the fastenings which secured the engine. At midnight it was found that the ship was leaking badly, and though the pumps were immediately set to work, six or eight hours elapsed before she was cleared of water. With a crippled engine, a head wind blowing a gale, and a heavy sea, we did not make Tampa harbour till nine o'clock Sunday night. I reached Tallahassee on the third of March, glad to tread upon firm ground, and with a grate-

ful sense of God's mercy in having guarded us from the danger of the sea." (Journal of 1869 Convention).

In his address to the thirtieth Council of the Diocese (1873), the Bishop stated that he was unable to attend the Council of the preceding year. He had been detained in Key West a month, awaiting an opportunity to reach the mainland. "On the 27th of January, I succeeded in getting away, and on the 31st reached home." Two days after Christmas, he told his hearers, "I started from Quincy to ride fifty-four miles in an open buggy to Marianna, it being the boldest day of the year, and so cold as to freeze at midday. It was, of course, painfully uncomfortable, but by stopping several times to warm at a roadside house, I escaped all ill effects, except rheumatism."

Orlando is a flourishing place to-day; and it contains the cathedral of the Diocese of South Florida. When Bishop Young visited Orange County in 1875, however, the Episcopal Church was scarcely known in the whole section.

On Mid-Lent Sunday, I held services in Orlando. The Saturday before, I reached the residence of Francis Eppes, Esq., * * * and right glad was I to be able to visit him --cut I off as he and his family had been for years from the privileges of the Church--in what he went to as an almost wilderness home. Before leaving for Orlando, Sunday morning, I baptized an infant grandchild of Mr. Eppes; immediately after which we set out for Orlando, some five miles distant. We carried a quantity of Prayer-books, to distribute amongst the people, who were mostly unacquainted with

our services. After the service for the morning, I preached and celebrated the Holy Communion. We then proceeded to Lake Maitland, by previous appointment, to visit a prominent Church family who had just before located there. I found the Church people in Orange County exceedingly scattered; no settlement being large enough to form a nucleus or available standpoint for Church work. The devoted and earnest missionary-Rev. Lyman Phelps—who had just then entered upon his duties in great feebleness of body, comprehended fully, I was glad to find, the nature of his work, and from the constant and considerable accessions to the population of that county during the past year, I hope there may be formed, ere long, the germs, of several parishes within its borders. (Journal of 32nd and 33rd Councils, p. 36).

About two weeks later the Bishop left Ocala for Gainesville. Let him speak for himself:

From the heaviness of the roads and some unexpected detentions on the way, including the fording of the head of Paine's Prairie after dark, which was then a large lake, I found myself, at ten o'clock at night, some seven miles from Gainesville as I supposed; and as I knew not where I was to stop or could find shelter or feed for my horse, I determined to camp by the roadside for the night. Everything was comfortable and pleasant till about four o'clock in the morning, when a peal of thunder overhead, and portentous clouds, admon-

ished me to protect myself as best I could from a coming storm. It did my best, and, with all haste; but for two hours, in a buggy without a top, I was pelted by a most merciless rain, and so completely drenched, that not until the middle of the afternoon was it, possible for me, with the help of a good fire, to get into a proper condition to go out of doors. I had to be excused, of course, to the congregation in the morning, but at night I preached and confirmed two." (Ibid.).

Travelling from the western part of the state eastward was by indirect route. A northern detour was necessary. Bishop Young, the same year, returned from Pensacola to Marianna "by way of Montgomery and Eufaula, Alabama. On reaching the latter place I took a buggy, for which I had made arrangements previously, and in two days accomplished the distance of one hundred miles from Eufaula to Marianna, with the mercury standing at nearly or quite a hundred in the shade. I had to provide myself with this conveyance on account of the withdrawal, for the summer, of the steamer on the Chattahoochee, upon which I depended to take me from Eufaula to Neal's Landing, twenty-five miles from Marianna, at which point a carriage was to meet me" (Ibid., p. 38).

He arrived in Marianna, held his service, and confirmed twelve. Then what did he dot

"Immediately after dinner I started for Ocheese, twenty-five miles distant, in order to take at midnight the steamer going down from Bainbridge to Apalachicola. The driver of the conveyance proved not to

know the road, passed the branch leading to Ocheese Landing, at about nine o'clock, as we afterwards learned, and kept on down the river till after one o'clock in the morning, over an unfrequented road, frequently obstructed by large trees blown down across it, with the night so intensely dark that no progress would have been practicable without the light of torches, which we renewed as often as was necessary. After entering upon the morning hours, I ordered a halt to camp until daylight; and in looking for a suitable place by the light of my torch, I discovered a gate, which proved to be the entrance to a residence, the only one that we had found any indications of since before dark, and soon learned that we had left Ocheese several miles behind. Renewing our supply of material for torches, we turned back and reached Ocheese just before daylight. There I waited till nearly noon for the steamer, which was some twelve hours behind her time, in consequence of a dense fog which rendered it unsafe for her to run." (Ibid.)

The 3rd of December, the Bishop embarked at Cedar Keys; but did not reach Key West till the 10th, having been a week in making the passage. "At Punta Rasa, where we were obliged to seek shelter from a terrible gale and furious sea, and where we lay for two days and nights, I found the gentleman in charge of the telegraph cable to be a Churchman, and his wife a communicant."

This visit in Key West, in December, 1875, is of considerable significance in the history of Anglican missions, since it initiated a movement which has

grown to considerable dimensions-the work of the Episcopal Church among the Cubans. The Episcopal Diocese of Cuba reported in 1935 no fewer than 25 clergymen, 39 parishes and missions, 16 preaching stations, and 3411 communicants. Since 1904 Cuba has had its own Episcopal Bishop. (Living Church Annual, Morehouse, 1936, p. 198). To the second Bishop of Florida, however, belongs the thanks for giving this activity its forward movement.

It was on this trip that Bishop Young's interest was keenly aroused in the Cuban natives. A large number had immigrated to Florida and there were prospects of more. "Soon after my arrival in Key West," he said in his address to the Council, "the Mayor of the city, Mr. Cespedes, and several other representative men of the Cubans now residing there, waited upon me and informed me of the very general desire on the part of their people, now numbering over five thousand, for the establishment of the services of the Church there in the Spanish language." (Journal of Diocese of Florida, 1875-6, p. 41). Accordingly, the Bishop proposed a public meeting of the Cubans, at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, on the evening of December 20th. Thus he describes the occasion:

After duly organizing I addressed them for about an hour

Mr. Cespedes translated my remarks period by period, and, after I had concluded, addressed the audience at some length and was followed by Mr. Baez, who, as well as Mr. Cespedes, spoke earnestly and eloquently. After these addresses a resolution, embodying an expression of the desire of which I had been previously informed,

was unanimously passed, and largely signed by those present, and subsequently many who could not be present sought the privilege of adding their names. Before leaving Key West, I ordered two hundred Prayer-books in Spanish to be sent at once to Dr. Steele (rector of St. Paul's, Key West) ; appointed Mr. Baez, who has been for some time a regular attendant and communicant, of St. Paul's, lay reader, instructing him to commence services as soon as the Prayer-books should be received." (Ibid.).

As Bishop Young knew no Spanish-speaking priest whose services he could obtain, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. dePalma, of New York, and urged him to spend a month in Key West. DePalma promised to spend the following February there.

Mr. Baez evidently found his duties congenial, for on the Fifth Sunday in Lent, 1877, he was ordained deacon at St. Paul's Church. On the following Wednesday, Bishop Young held a visitation of the Cuban missions; the services were conducted throughout in Spanish, and the canticles were sung well. (Journal of Diocese of Florida, 1877, p. 51). A notable beginning had been made among a people, "who, with very few exceptions, never at all attended upon the worship of God, or observed His Holy Day, except as the day for card-playing, cock-fighting, theatricals, and such-like follies and sins." (Ibid.).

It was at this time that Bishop Young began preparations for a colored mission, for the benefit of a thousand unchurched negro Cubans resident in Key West. Mr. Baez promised to take hold, provided the assurance of support for himself and family

were forthcoming; and \$1,000 was recommended as a minimum stipend "in that very expensive town." Besides financial considerations, there was considerable drain on the deacon's time and strength. "Five thousand Cubans, who mostly look to him for all ministerial services which they require, to say nothing of the day school and Sunday-school he has to direct, his preparations for the pulpit and the prosecution of his theological studies in preparing for the priesthood"-truly Mr. Baez was a busy man!

In 1878, Bishop Young reported to the Council that Mr. Baez's Cuban work had held its own beyond expectation. There was a desire for a Church independent of the other parishes of Key West, though realization of that hope seemed quite distant. A mission had been organized among the negro Cubans of the city, and a lay reader by the name of Perez officiated regularly for their benefit.

The Reverend Doctor J. L. Steele, rector of St. Paul's, Key West, died on the 13th of October, 1878. Bishop Young, in commenting on his life, remarked that "it was mainly owing to his interest in the Cubans, and his well directed efforts in their behalf, that the work for their benefit was inaugurated." (Journal of Diocese of Florida, 1879, p. 27). Mr. Baez, who owed his preparation largely to Doctor Steele, (was ordained a priest the second Sunday in Lent, 1879. The new Cuban mission, of which he had charge, was known as St. John's; and that year, seventy-two families were reported and a total of three hundred souls. Still the Cubans were without a church of their own; they used St. Paul's after the conclusion of the regular morning service.

During the session of the General Convention of 1883, a petition from Matanzas, signed by 258 per-

sons, came into Bishop Young's hands. He proved responsive to the call, and from that time his Cuban activities extended to the island itself. The Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions, disappointed at the results of Episcopal work in Mexico, felt unwilling to grant any further fund for missions among the Spanish Americans, until Bishop Young could make a personal survey of the situation. So, on February 22nd, 1884, the Bishop "left home for a visitation of our missions on the Island of Cuba."

On February 28th, he officiated at Matanzas. After evening prayer and a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Baez (whom he proposed to assign to the Cuban field), Bishop Young confirmed a class of forty-nine. Other services were held at Matanzas; twenty more were confirmed, and the Bishop's talks were translated "by a competent person." On March 3rd, he arrived at Havana, where he officiated the same evening. Mr. Baez preached. Fifty-five were confirmed in that city, "nearly all of whom were adults, and one-half men."

"Wednesday, March 5th, I called on the Governor-General of Cuba, meeting with a most polite and cordial reception." (Journal of Diocese of Florida, 1884, p. 47).

On the 28th of April, 1885, the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Florida recommended that Mr. Jose Victorine de la Cova, of Havana, be received as a candidate for Holy Orders. But Bishop Young's report to the Foreign Missionary Committee aroused little enthusiasm; and he commented on the poor response with chagrin:

On reporting the results of my observations in Cuba, I was greatly surprised and

disappointed at the refusal of the Committee to entertain the subject at all, on the ground of want of jurisdiction. "It was a new field of missionary work," it was said, "and only the Board of Managers have the power of adopting such." All very true; but why was this not thought of at the meeting some time before, when I was given to understand, and others present received the same impression, that if I reported favorably of the prospect, after visiting Cuba, they would make an appropriation for carrying on the work?

Although a whole month would elapse before the meeting of the board of Managers, I resolved to wait in New York for the meeting of that Board, and in the meantime issued a special edition of the account of my visit to Cuba, which I sent to every Bishop and Clergyman of the United States, and to many of the Laity, who, as was supposed, might be interested in the work, being determined that if this important work should fail it should not be from want of the diffusion of full information through the, Church respecting it." (*Journal of Diocese of Florida*, 1885, pp. 43-44).

As a result of his appeal, Bishop Young received pledges amounting to some six or seven hundred dollars before the meeting of the Board of Managers. With this assurance, the Board made a temporary appropriation for Cuba for the four months' period from May to September, at the rate of \$3000 a year. During his stay in New York, the Bishop summoned the Joint Committee on the Spanish version of the Prayer-book and appropriate alterations were made.

Bishop Young reached Havana, February 24th, 1885, on his second visitation to the Cuban missions. Within two weeks, he confirmed 325, a considerable advance over the preceding year. "This result was reached without any increase of laborers, it being the fruit of the healthy and steady growth of interest in our truly Catholic and Apostolic Church." (Ibid., p. 48) This work was interrupted by the Bishop's death, a few months later; and the Board of Missions, already faced by a huge deficit, decided that other fields needed help more than Cuba. Yet the seeds had been planted, and subsequently Episcopal missionaries found that a beginning had been made. In fact, Bishop Young founded twelve missions there.

The eastern coast of Florida, south of St. Augustine, was little known in Bishop Young's lifetime; and it is thus that he sums up the situation in a territory which has since become the scene of tremendous development:

Next to Tampa * * * the portion of the diocese most demanding attention is the eastern coast, south of St. Augustine. Since my visit to the Indian and Halifax Rivers population has been gradually though slowly coming in, and it is important to establish the Church wherever a sufficient nucleus can be found. The two difficulties that have hitherto rendered impracticable any effort in that region have been, first, the fact that the settlers have been generally isolated and distant from each other, extending along a line of river margin for some hundreds of miles, and, secondly, the want of any established system of communication and travel between the different set-

lements, except such as could be provided by private arrangement and at great cost. The latter difficulty is now being a good deal relieved, and considerable communities, with better facilities for travel, will doubtless soon be formed at several points. (Journal of 32nd and 33rd Councils of Diocese of Florida, p. 43).

As the years went by, the Bishop found it increasingly difficult to endure the uncertainties and privations of rural work. But although his later reports tell of enforced rest cures and periods of recuperation, although he preached more seldom and felt relieved when his clerical host preached in his stead, he fought a brave fight to the end. As one of the pioneers of the Episcopal Church in Florida, he will be gratefully remembered; and his successor, the late Edwin Gardner Weed, has thus summed up his efforts :---

I feel I know him well, for his works speak, though he sleepeth. As I go over the diocese, and behold his works, I feel he has written his own epitaph in the hearts of the people. Laborious and wise; gifted and accomplished; faithful and devoted.

Wherever I have been with the convenience of railroads and steamboats, he went on foot, or by horse. When I take into account the labours which his extensive travels involved, it seems strange that his physical forces were not exhausted years ago. At Cocoa he went into the woods axe in hand, and prepared a site for the church. From Key West he passed over to Cuba, and established twelve congregations on

that wretched island. His missionary labours were enormous. But his labours were not confined to mission work. Throughout the diocese I have learned how his care extended to the minutest details. His taste is to be seen everywhere. I venture to say there is not a diocese in the American Church, with as many temple of worship constructed with the same reference to the true principles of architecture. He was not only a wise and educated master-builder however; his foresight was markedly shown in the selection of places for the erection of church buildings. When you consider what a wilderness Florida was when he was consecrated, and when you consider, also, how the Church has kept ahead of immigration, and how the population has followed and clustered round the places which he selected, as centres of worship, we must pay him the homage due the wise statesman. Not satisfied with planting and establishing the Church in the most remote districts, he did not rest till he had given the people a love of true Church music, and had instructed them in the proper rendering of the ritual." (Journal of 44th Council, 1887, p. 69).

Bishop Young passed away the 15th of November, 1885. Less than two years afterwards, the cornerstone of St. Andrew's Church in Jacksonville was laid—a church which was designed as a memorial to him. On that occasion, Bishop Weed spoke of the obstacles which his predecessor had surmounted. "One must go to New York in order to reach Key West and to Georgia to arrive at Pensacola," he said; "but wherever I have gone, over this vast state, Bishop Young has preceded me."

LETTERS FROM EAST FLORIDA

BY DOROTHY DODD

Before the outbreak of the Seminole Indian War in 1835 the northern counties of East Florida¹ were increasing in population at a faster rate² than Middle and West Florida. Although the country was but sparsely settled there were a number of flourishing plantations, but these were laid waste by the Indians during the next seven years and immigration into that section almost entirely ceased. On the termination of the war in 1842, Congress passed a temporary free homestead act to encourage settlers to come into the section that had been the seat of the war in the hope that settlement would prevent further Indian disturbances.

The Armed Occupation Act of August 4, 1842, offered a quarter section of land to heads of families and single men over eighteen years of age,³ able to bear arms, who should, within one year of the passage of the Act, make an actual settlement in that part of Florida lying south of the line dividing town-

¹ The old divisions of West, Middle, and East Florida are followed here, West Florida comprising the territory between the Perdido and Apalachicola rivers, Middle Florida that between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers, and East Florida all territory east and south of the Suwannee river.

² East Florida had a population of 8,749 in 1830 and of 19,556 in 1840, an increase for the ten years of 123.6 per cent. as compared with an increase of 56.8 per cent for the whole Territory. In view of general testimony that the Indian wars practically stopped immigration into East Florida, it is reasonable to assume that most of this increase occurred prior to 1835. It must be noted, however, that there was a marked increase in the sales of public lands in East Florida in 1837, 1838, and 1839, as compared with preceding years, although sales decreased almost to nothing in 1841 and 1842. Sen. Doc. **No. 2, 30** Cong., 2 Sess., Chart. 3.

³ Residents of Florida who owned 160 acres of land at the time of passage of the Act were excluded from its benefits.

ships nine and ten.⁴ No more than 200,000 acres were to be granted under the Act. Prospective settlers must obtain permits from the register of the land office, but they might settle in advance of survey. A homesteader was required to reside in Florida south of the stipulated line for five years, to erect a dwelling house, clear, enclose, and cultivate at least five acres of land, and reside on his homestead for four years following the first year after the date of his permit of settlement.

It was expected that most of the settlements would be in the Alachua country, and by Act of August 30, 1842, the Alachua land district⁵ was established with an office at Newnansville. No permits were granted in the Alachua district until December, 1842, when thirty-three were issued. A steady flow of applications followed, and a total of 948 permits had been issued by August 4, 1843. Of these, forty-one were later cancelled for technical reasons,⁶ leaving a total of 908 effective permits in the Alachua district.⁷

⁴ This line ran east and west about three miles north of Palatka and about ten miles south of Newnansville. No settlement might be within two miles of a military post, on lands bearing live oak or red cedar, or in conflict with existing private claims.

⁵ The district comprised all territory east of the Suwanee river and west of the line dividing ranges twenty-four and twenty-five except that east of the St. Mary's river and north of the basis parallel.

⁶ Number cancelled because locations were not confined within the limits of a technical quarter section, 17; because settlements were on private claims or lands reserved for military purposes, 5; because locations were on keys or islands in the gulf, which were reserved for military purposes, 19. Sen. Doc. No. 39, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 21.

⁷ The Act was construed to permit women, who were heads of families and who "in all instances have either sons or slaves capable of labor, and therefore of bearing arms" to benefit by its provisions [*ibid.*, 14-15] and twenty-one women took out permits to settle in the Alachua district. Eight women took out permits in the St. Augustine district but one later abandoned her settlement and five never occupied their claims.

Although no settlement might be made within two miles of a military post; most settlers selected land near a fort. The largest settlement of some 300 claims was comprised within a radius of twenty miles of Ft. King. Another large settlement was around Ft. Cross, just west of the upper reaches of the Withlacoochee river, while there were smaller settlements south of Ft. Fanning on the Suwanee river, around Hillsborough Bay between the Hillsborough and Alafia rivers, and south of the Manatee river.⁸

A total of 369 permits was granted at St. Augustine under the Armed Occupation Act, but eighty-seven were later cancelled, leaving a total of 242 effective permits. Unlike the locations in the Alachua district, fifty-three claims were never occupied⁹ and twelve claims were abandoned after settlement. The permits indicated a scattered settlement, generally near the coast, from Palatka to Miami river and Bay Biscayne. St. Lucie sound and river was perhaps the most popular locality, but of some eighty-five claims here, thirty-nine were never occupied or were later abandoned. The districts around Ft. Pierce, Lake Worth, Indian river, and Miami river and Bay Biscayne drew some twenty to thirty-five settlers each.

Although the offer of free homesteads made in the Armed Occupation Act held only for one year, the public lands in Florida were open to settlement at

⁸ The locations of these settlements, as well as those in the St. Augustine district, were ascertained from charts appended to Sen. Doc. No. 39, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. It was not possible to determine the exact number of settlements in each locality because all claims had not been surveyed at the time the charts were compiled.

⁹ It is possible that these claims were not occupied because the land officials held "that a settlement made by slaves fulfilling all the requirements of the law" did not come within the meaning of the Act. *Ibid.*, 12.

the regular price of \$1.25 an acre. Purchase could not be made in advance of survey, however, and this fact, combined with poor roads, sporadic Indian outrages, and the uncertainties of titles attendant upon the existence of numerous private claims under British and Spanish grants which had neither been confirmed nor denied, retarded the settlement of East Florida. The population of the section increased only 34.9 per cent between 1840 and 1850, as compared with an increase of 60.5 per cent for Florida as a whole. It was not until the turn of the decade that the tide of immigration came which more than doubled its population in ten years.¹⁰ As under the Armed Occupation Act, the great flow of immigrants was to the Alachua country, by this time divided into Alachua, Marion, Hernando,¹¹ and Levy counties. The Tallahassee *Sentinel* of June 3, 1851, remarked that "Marion County, in East Florida, is said to have doubled its population since the first of January. The immigration is almost altogether from South Carolina." In 1850 Marion and Alachua counties were ninth and thirteenth, respectively, in population among Florida counties and sixth and tenth in the cash value of their farms. By 1860 Marion county was fifth in population and second only to Leon county in the value of its farms, while Alachua county had climbed to sixth place in each classification.

It was hoped that sugar cane and tobacco, rather than cotton, would become the cash crops of East Florida. Because of the fluctuating price of cotton in the 1840's there was a general desire to substitute

¹⁰ The population of East Florida was 26,382 in 1850 and 53,923 in 1860, an increase of 104.3 per cent, as compared with an increase of 60.5 per cent for the entire state.

Hernando county was known as Benton county from its creation in 1843 until the name was changed in 1850.

some other and more profitable. 'staple crops, and a writer in the Jacksonville *Statesman*, commenting on a sample of East Florida tobacco, voiced the hope of many planters when he remarked, - "If our planters can succeed in producing such an article as the quality before us, we would be willing to see the cotton plant banished from the state."¹² The soil was thought suitable for both tobacco and cane in many parts of East Florida and those two crops constituted the chief products of the section in 1850. But there was more to their profitable production than the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops. Tobacco must be carefully and expertly cured, graded, and packed if a uniformly high grade product, with a consequent high price, was to be produced, while sugar required not only expert knowledge but expensive machinery for its manufacture. Whether, for these or other causes, by 1860 the production of tobacco and sugar in East Florida showed not only a relative but an absolute decrease and cotton was well on its way to becoming the leading staple crop of the section.

The sources of immigration into East Florida can not be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. It is certain however, that Georgians and South Carolinians constituted a very appreciable element of the population, although all of the older Southern states probably contributed some settlers. The fertile lands of East Florida, so suitable for cultivation by slave labor, were brought to the notice of these people in part, at least, by letters such as those which follow. A settler would write to friends an account of the country and its possibilities. The letter, from which the signature of the writer was usually omitted, would find its way into a newspaper and, once in

¹²Quoted in *Viles' Register*, XLVIII, 378 (Aug. 9, 1845).

print, would be copied by paper after paper, since the editor of that period depended upon his exchanges for the filler which syndicated and "boiler plate" material supply to the modern newspaper.

* * *

(From the Florida Journal, April 22, 1843)

Enterprise, Mosquito Co., E. F.,
March 28th, 1843

E. A. WARE,¹³ Esq.-My dear Sir: Having recruited somewhat from the fatigue of my travel, I shall now attempt to fulfil the promise made you at Tallahassee, and write you a short letter. I could find sufficient to fill a dozen sheets, were I to enter into a minute detail of all that has presented itself to me worthy of notice since I left Tallahassee. You must, however, content yourself with the outline. After ten days hard riding through mud and water, I arrived at Enterprise,¹⁴ situated on Lake Monroe, one of the many enlargements of the St. Johns River; at this place the lake is four miles wide, by eight miles long, skirted on every side by extensive bodies of very fertile land. The beauty of the scenery is much enhanced by the forest bordering it; from the margin of the lake, extending back for a mile or more, is covered with the cabbage palmetto, live oak, hickory, yam, &c., together with shrubbery, a variety of plants and vines, which at this time in full foliage, offer a most imposing view from the lake. Situated on an elevated plain of ten or twelve

¹³ Ware was editor of the *Journal*.

¹⁴ Enterprise was located on the north side of Lake Monroe, near Ft. Kingsbury, in what is now Seminole county. As late as 1887 it was the county seat of Volusia county, with a population of 500, a post office, winter hotel, and large saw mill, but it is not now listed in the postal guide. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, 121; John R. Richards, comp., *Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1886-7, I, 139.

feet from the surface, of the lake, is the prospect for the new town of Enterprise, the county site of Mosquito county.¹⁵ This place was colonized last year by Major Taylor,¹⁶ during the time of so much Indian alarm on the St. Johns. There are some twenty-five families residing around the lake, who seem to be well blessed with the country, and are making very substantial improvement. Major Taylor has erected him a commodious and pleasant dwelling on a mound or hillock near the lake, has a farm in fine cultivation, and a promising young orange grove.¹⁷ Enterprise, situated at the head of good steamboat navigation, together with the large body of rich hammock¹⁸ and prairies immediately surrounding it, which must ship their produce from this place, is destined borne day to become one of the most important inland towns in the Territory. In another point of view it will claim no little attention: being in the direct route to Tampa Bay, the great south western mail route must some day pass through this part of Florida. From Savannah or Charleston to this place there is a safe communication for steamboats;

¹⁵ Mosquito county was created in 1824 from old St. Johns county. The name was changed to Orange in 1845.

¹⁶ On Feb. 8 1843 a permit was issued, under the Armed Occupation Act, to a Cornelius Taylor for a quarter section of land on the north side of Lake Monroe. If this is the Major Taylor referred to, he apparently had settled in 1842 without title to the land he occupied. Some nine or ten permits were granted under the Act for homesteads in this vicinity.

¹⁷ Trees of the sweet orange, found in Orange, St. Lucie, Dade, Hillsborough and other East Florida counties, were mostly destroyed during the Indian wars. "There is now, however, in progress of growth, several young and thrifty orange groves at Indian River, Tampa, Manatee, and other places." "Report of the Joint Committee on the Climate, Soil and Products of South Florida," Florida Senate Journal, 1850, 330.

¹⁸ The soil [of hammock land] is a black, loose, sandy loam, from ten to twelve inches deep, resting on stiff compact clay." *Niles' Register*, LXVIII, 25 (March 15, 1845), quoting *Mobile Register*.

the remaining distance to be carried inland by coaches does not exceed seventy-five miles, (to Tampa Bay), through a country over which excellent roads may be easily made. As to the health of the country, this must be all speculation as yet. In all new countries more or less sickness may be expected, consequent upon the decay of vegetable matter, and the exposure which all settlers of new countries must undergo. Should, however, the hammocks¹⁹ and lands adjoining on the lake prove unhealthy, the pine lands are situated sufficiently near for summer residence. Even the sea coast is not too far distant for a summer retreat, being only eighteen miles²⁰ from the lake to Smyrna, situated near the mouth of Halifax river, on the Atlantic coast. Of the productions of this part of Florida, it is scarcely necessary to say anything, as much of the country around this place has been in the possession of the whites for years, and in a high state of cultivation Corn, cotton, (long staple), sugar, and most of the tropical fruits, may

be cultivated here to great advantage. I must not omit something of the mineral springs. There are two, known as the Salt and Basin Spring. The first is situated seventy or eighty yards from the margin of the lake, is one hundred and twenty yards in circumference, and sends off a cold stream, which flows into the lake; the other, the Basin spring, is two hundred or more yards in rear of the Salt spring, in circumference eighty or ninety yards, perfectly transparent, and of great depth; the stream from it, united with that from the Salt spring. These waters have never been analyzed; they are, however, cer-

¹⁹ According to John Lee Williams, "Hammocks usually occupy high and pleasant situations, on the borders of rivers and lakes, delightful sites for country residences." *The Territory of Florida*, N. Y. 1837, p. 304.

²⁰ Barbour, op. cit., 316, says that Enterprise was thirty miles from Smyrna.

tainly strongly impregnated with sulphur. In cutaneous diseases and rheumatism, I doubt not they will be found very efficacious-in one instance of a case of rheumatism, the use of the water effected a cure. What is more strange, near the Salt spring some forty or fifty yards, is a spring of fresh clear water, entirely unlike the mineral water, very cool and palatable.

* * *

[From the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 24, 1843, quoted from the *North Arkansas*.]

East Florida, June 28, 1843.

Sir-You will expect me to say something about the country. I have now been here seven months, and have enjoyed good health. This is the finest farming country I have ever seen. The good lands and hammocks are much like and equal to the bottom lands about Morgan Magness. The production are Sea Island cotton, sugar, corn, oats, potatoes, &c., but the most valuable staple will be sugar. It is easily cultivated-more so than corn. A poor produce is 2,000 lbs. sugar and 4 barrels molasses to the acre. The trouble and expense of making it is about equal to that of making cider. Sugar to the amount of 4,500 lbs. was made from one acre near this place last fall. The quality of the sugar is superior to that of New Orleans, and equal to Santa Cruz. One bale of Sea Island cotton to the acre is the average product; but more can be made by good cultivation. From 200 to 500 bushels of sweet potatoes is the produce of an acre.

We have good water. Where I now am is in lat. 30°²¹ I shall settle one degree farther South, in lat.

²¹ Probably in Columbia county some fifteen miles south of Lake City.

29.²² Now you would say 'It must be very hot!'-but it is not so: the peninsula is only one hundred miles wide. I assure you it is not so hot here as it was this time last year in North Carolina, and not near as hot as it was two years ago at Memphis.-The country is healthy, and being about half way between the Gulf and the Atlantic, we regularly have a breeze from ten o'clock in the morning to three in the afternoon. The nights are cool and airy.

I saw a lady yesterday, who left Savannah ten days ago. She says she had no idea it could be so much cooler here than there. I am told by the oldest citizens we will have no hotter weather.

The winter is very pleasant. Our peaches were killed by frost in the spring. I was told it was the coldest weather ever known.-The thickest ice I saw was three-fourths of an inch. On the 1st of February we had the coldest weather, and some snow was seen flying, but it did not lie on the ground. Now you have a description of our climate. Cattle are never fed nor salted; - the dew of heaven gives them salt. Raising stock is very profitable ; - I heard of one man who had 8,000 head. We can ship them to Mobile, Pensacola, New Orleans, Havana, Charleston or Savannah, by driving forty or fifty miles to a shipping port.

The lands are light and easily cultivated. I have about twelve hands farming and two in the blacksmith shop, that do not work on the crops. I have about 90 acres in corn, nearly laid by, as fine as you ever saw; 40 in Sea Island cotton, very good; 3 in sugar; 10 in potatoes; and 1 in rice. I am now living on rented land. Next week I will go to my own

²² Probably on the southern fringe of the settlement around Ft. King.

lands, 60 miles South, where I expect yet to plant 50 acres in corn, peas, pumpkins, potatoes and pumpkins [sic].

Corn is now worth one dollar per bushel, and will be for two or three years, as there will be many moving in.²³

Yours, &c.,
R

* * *

(From the Apalachicola **Commercial Advertiser**,
September 9, 1843, quoted from the **Savannah Republican**)

St. John's Bluff,²⁴ (E. F.) Aug. 22, 1843

The crops in this section of country, although we have had too much rain, are so far very fine; provision crops particularly. We have been threatened with that voracious worm, the caterpillar: and many planters apprehend serious consequences from these ravages. I have yet a doubt as to their being the real (simon pure.) If, however, they should prove to be the real cotton caterpillar, which time will soon develope [sic], there will not be seed enough made, to plant the ensuing year, as our crops are three weeks later than usual. I have but recently returned from the Alachua country, where the best lands in Florida are located. It is certainly a beautiful country, one in which the labor of the farmer is sure to, be well rewarded. I visited several plantations, while on-my route, among others, Mr. Clarke's, formerly of St. Marys; and Mr. Madison's. The former gentleman with sixteen hands, all told, will

²³ A high price for corn was a sign of a rapidly growing frontier community where newcomers generally had to buy provisions until they could raise a crop.

²⁴ St. John's Bluff was east of Jacksonville on the south side of the Ft. Johns river.

realize alone from his corn crops, over three thousand dollars; corn being worth all the season through, one dollar per bushel. Emigrants from every section of the Union are pouring in daily. All of them require more or less corn. I see no impediment to East Florida, becoming in a few years, the garden of the South.

H.

* * *

(From the Tallahassee Floridian, February 2, 1850,
quoted from the Charleston Mercury)

Ocala,²⁵ Dec. 29, 1849.

DEAR SIR: At your request, I will make a brief statement of facts relative to my success in planting since I came to Florida. I landed at Ocala, January 27, 1847, not having selected any spot for a settlement, and in making a selection I occupied two weeks, which brought the 12th day of February. At this period I went into the woods, and commenced clearing land, and we had every pole to cut, and every board to split, to erect cabins to shelter us from the weather. We cleared and fenced about sixty acres of land, and planted it about the 1st of April, and rented about twenty acres more, about twenty miles from our settlement, there being no land that we could get any nearer. Our crop this year was barely sufficient to support us and provide for the ensuing one.

At the commencement of 1848, we began to clear in good earnest, and succeeded in reducing to a rough

²⁵ Ocala is three miles west of old Ft. King. The fort was abandoned as a military post in 1843, but a trading post and small cluster of settlers remained. In 1846 the county board of Marion county, which had been created from parts of Alachua, Mosquito, and Hillsborough counties in 1844, resolved that the county site should thereafter be known as Ocala. Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Fla. Hist. Soc. Quart.*, VI, 88-91.

state of cultivation about ten acres to each hand, a large portion of which was hammock, the rest was pine, oak and hickory land, and finished planting it on the 7th day of April. The result was, that we raised full supply of provisions, made some improvements, and were able to clear a net profit of \$40 to each hand, though we lost at least half of our Corn and Cotton crop by two storms or gales, one in September, the other in October.

The present year we have been more successful. Our provision crop has been abundant, having raised and hoisted enough of Corn to supply the wants of the farm for two years, and leaving to each hand 100 bushels to sell, which at 50 cents per bushel,²⁶ would make \$50. Our stock of pork Hogs is very nearly sufficient to supply [sic] the wants of the farm as to meat, as Hogs do well here with proper attention. Our Cotton crop is about 1350 pounds of clean Long Cotton to each hand, worth in Savannah at present from 20 to 25 cents per pound, but we will estimate it at 22½, and the aggregate will be \$303 75. In addition we have Short Cotton and Tobacco enough to pay all the expenses and contingencies of the place, such as Overseer's wages, Doctor's bill, clothing, taxes, bagging, freight, &c. We have further cultivated two acres of Sugar to the hand; one we have put by for seed, the other we will work up, but have not yet completed the machinery for doing so. The acre we will put down as a clear profit of \$35 per hand.

Thus we have	
Of Corn: 100 bushels per hand, at 50 cents.....	\$ 50 00
Cotton, 1350 lbs. at 22½.....	\$303 75
Sugar and syrup.....	\$ 35 00
<hr/>	
Total produce of each hand.....	\$388 75

²⁶The decrease in the price of corn since 1843 is indicative of the growth of population.

This product has been gathered from newly cleared land, on which the large timber was all left, and of which at least forty trees have fallen this year on the land cultivated by each hand, thereby, to some extent, lessening the product.

These results have been produced on a farm of 217 acres of cleared land, part hammock, part pine, and some hickory and oak land, and cultivated by fourteen hands, or 15 1/2 acres to each hand.

Our Physician's bill in 1847 was about \$20; in 1848, about two dollars and fifty cents; this year I am not able to name the amount, as he has been absent for some time, and I have not been furnished with it. There has [sic] been two deaths, among the negroes, both infants--one from worms, and the other from a fall.

Very respectfully, yours.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

WILLIAM PANTON TO JOHN FORBES

Pensacola 22nd September 1800

Mr. John Forbes,
Dr Sir

I received your letter of the 26th Ult. from Mobile and 5th inst from New Orleans., When your ceremonious visits are ended, and you begin to, open the budget you will be able to discover what is really the intention of the Chiefs and until I receive your next letter I must rest without forming any opinion whatever. I have received another letter from Mr. Savage, a copy of which is enclosed and dated 3rd Feby. What would have been serviceable twelve months ago, if granted, will not be equally productive now. Peace seems to be at no great distance, and when that takes place, the price of sugars at Havannah will not be less than at Jamaica, of course the only profit will be on the goods Carried there *on which there ought to be no dutys on entrance on the exportation of produce otherwise we can benefit, nothing from the Liberty of that Commerce.*

If the Port of Louisianne is declared open for the importation of negroes to others as well as to us, we cannot expect to derive much benefit' from that Commerce, as we shall be under sold by the Americans who have the means and can conduct that business on better terms than we. It was only on Consideration of having an exclusive right to import negroes to Louisiana that ever I contemplated that business as the means of indemnification for our past sacrifices. If the Americans *and* others are to partake in that Trade on equal terms with us we reap *no favour*

The liberty of taking wood from Yucatan had it been granted when asked might also have favoured us-when peace takes place it will be no favour because the Bay of Honduras will give wood equal to the British Consumption, and consequently the price in Europe will be low. The introduction of British goods to that place wherein there ought to be no exceptions, and that free of duty, untill we are fully indemnified can be admitted only as a means to pay us back the heavy losses we have sustained and no kind of produce in return for the goods we send there should be refused us. In any other manner the Compensation will be doubtful and tedious.

It appears to me that our first offer of selling out to Government should be hung by us as our main sheet, anchor. Let us be paid in money for our losses, let Government receive our stores, goods negroes and all other effects and we are ready to yield the Trade to any Persons Government shall name for that purpose and on payment deliver everything to them. And should I like the idea I would by no means deny that 200 m Drs [200,000 dollars] with the advantages which the Buyers will possess over every other persons may be made of it p. annum and [missing] of Course that our offer must appear reasonable The express from Sava is arrived but we are unfortunate-the Bundle in which our European letters were all put up and placed in the charge of the Stage driver and by his being taken sick on the road was with himself left at Pocotaleso (?) about half way betwixt Savannah and Charleston-Copies of such papers as I have received deemed worthy of your knowledge shall be enclosed

The refusal of the Captain General to admit of the vessel your Brother sent [illegible] Havannah

[illegible] to the amount of the money advanced Minor is destructive in its effects and by far one of the most wanton cruel [illegible] injurys that ever was perpetrated by man. I can place no confidence [two lines missing] and the sooner we shake ourselves clear of them the better. If Minor is in the way I am sure he will acknowledge the favour we did him in its true light, and I send you a translated Copy of the Marquess' letter to me dated 28th October. As to Folch you know the whole and I need say no more.

Garcias is the Bearer of this and he has only given me an hours notice to write my letters. He has been picking up affidavits here in his favour and I wish they may answer his purpose. The letters I send you for Governor O'Neill, Messrs Hernandez & Co are left open and these [two lines missing] wrote them. I have also put up a copy of a letter from Col. Hawkins and another from James Innerarity and to these and what I have mentioned above I must refer you. Traders seems to be doing nothing. If Howard was there things would be different. The Spaniards are losing ground in the opinior of Indians and I am sorry for it. I send you a number of newspapers which you will see delivered and make my excuses for not writing them to whom they are directed [three lines missing] . . .

I remain

Dr Sir

yours truly

Wm Panton

THE HISTORICAL

Following the district meetings of the Society, held at Tallahassee on January 10 and at Sanford on February 8, which were reported in the last issue of the Quarterly, a public meeting of the members of the First Congressional District was held at Mountain Lake Club, Lake Wales, on March 12. Senator Spessard L. Holland, director of the Society in that district, presided.

President Joshua C. Chase spoke of the plans of the Florida Historical Society for broadening its work of bringing to light the facts of the State's long history and making them better known to the present generation. Jessie B. Rittenhouse, president of the Poetry Society of Florida, read a poem discovered in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and apparently of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century, which is the earliest known poetic description of Florida. This was published in the Quarterly of July, 1928. A stanza is:

Have you not hard of floryda
A coontre far bewest
Where savage pepell planted are
By nature and by hest
Who in the mold
Fynd glysterynge gold
And yt for tryfels sell
Have over the water to floryda
Farewell, gay lundon, nowe

This was followed by several poems of colonial Florida interest from the pen of her late husband, Clinton Scollard.

Professor A. J. Hanna, of Rollins College, read a paper on the flight and escape of Confederate Secretary of War J. C. Breckenridge through Florida to Cuba at the close of the war.

* * *

The eightieth anniversary of the incorporation of Tampa was observed at another district public meeting held there by the Society at which George P. Raney, a director, presided. D. B. McKay, a former mayor of that city and a member of one of its pioneer families, gave the principal address in which he recounted much of Tampa's early history. Several rare pieces relating to that history were presented to the Society's collection of Floridiana. These include a copy of the Tampa *Herald* of October 11, 1854; two letters written from Tampa in 1840 and 1845, which describe the village of that period; and a sketch of Mrs. Nancy Jackson who came to Tampa in 1822.

Lena E. Jackson read a paper descriptive of the sojourn of Sidney Lanier in Tampa during the winter of 1876-77 and his writings there. This will appear in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

Right Reverend Nathaniel S. Thomas, of Palm Beach, another director, spoke on the future of the Florida Historical Society; and Professor, A. J. Hanna on the present program.

These meetings were widely reported on by the State's press and have increased interest in the Society's work. Public meetings are planned in the other districts for the early fall.

* * *

The board of directors of the Society met with President Chase in Winter Park on April 25. Those present were Joshua C. Chase, president; Kathryn T. Abbey, vice-president; Albert H. Roberts, treasurer; Herbert Lamson, secretary; Carl Bohnenberger, corresponding secretary and librarian; and Mrs. Roy V. Ott, director.

A report of the committee on revision of the charter and by-laws was read and discussed section by

section, and certain changes and additions were suggested. The changes recommended by the committee will be considered for adoption by the members in annual meeting on November 17.

A committee on membership, to be appointed by the president, was authorized.

Dr. James A. Robertson, state archivist of Maryland, who had been invited to be present, told of the organization and work of his department.

Dr. Abbey emphasized the urgent need of early efforts to retain in Florida and to preserve manuscripts relating to its history. Of the few which have survived some have already been taken permanently out of the State; and others, which she mentioned, are now being eagerly sought for and bought by outside libraries. Those most desired now by those libraries are the papers of Governor Call, and Florida is on the point of losing them.

The president was authorized to appoint a committee on the collection, use, and preservation of manuscripts, which is to recommend to the next annual meeting of the Society:-

1. The means of expanding the manuscript collection of the Society to include materials which might otherwise be sold out of the State.

2. The methods of preserving and making available such a collection.

3. The possibility of arousing interest on the part of the people of Florida in such a collection.

4. The possible relations of the project with the State government.

5. The establishment of a publications program in addition to the *Quarterly*

This committee was appointed later as follows:
Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, of Tallahassee, chairman;

Bishop N. S. Thomas, of Palm Beach; Senator S. L. Holland, of Bartow; Professor A. J. Hanna, of Winter Park, Mr. Carl Bohnenberger, of Jacksonville—all districts being thus represented.

This was the second gathering of the widely scattered directors, meeting with President Chase, since his election last November. Also he has made several journeys to attend district public meetings. Such interest on his and their parts makes certain the steady growth of the Society and its influence. His own interest in Florida's history is not new, and in history it might be said to have begun before his own day—for he is a grandson of the historian Joshua Coffin.

* * *

President Chase has appointed the Membership Committee as follows: Watt Marchman, of Rollins College, Winter Park, chairman; R. L. Goulding, of Fort Lauderdale; Guyte McCord, of Tallahassee; Mrs. T. M. McDuffee, of Bradenton; Philip S. May, of Jacksonville. No work of the Society is more important now than the securing of new members, and as Mr. Marchman and his committee have begun this with vigor, the membership roll is steadily growing.

* * *

The letters and other papers of Governor R. K. Call, the acquisition of which was urged at the last meeting of the directors, have been purchased by the Society for its library. Largely by the efforts of Professor Alfred J. Hanna, late vice-president, the purchase price of five hundred dollars was raised through the generous contributions of numerous members and friends of the Society. So this valuable historical material relating to its history has been saved for Florida. As the number of documents is not large the price may seem high to some,

but the bid of libraries outside the State had to be met or the material would have been lost to Florida. A list of the contributors to the purchase fund will appear in the next issue of the *Quarterly*.

It is hoped that the Call papers will be but the first to come to the Society for preservation and for use in the writing of Florida's History, and that the letters and papers of other public men, without which that history cannot be fully written, will be given into the Society's keeping. Perhaps not again can a large sum be raised for such a purpose, for success came only through the knowledge that these papers were about to be sold outside of Florida.

The gratitude of all who feel an interest in Florida's history, and of those who are to feel a like interest in the years to come, will be sincerely felt and their thanks freely given to the heirs and possessors of such papers who give them to our library.

* * *

With the building of a huge paper mill there, the little village of St. Joe will become a thriving town, the second one on the site-but it will lack the romance of its predecessor. For half-a-dozen years after 1835 the new town of St. Joseph was the most prominent and one of the most important in Florida. Its story, so far as is known, is told by Dr. J. O. Knauss in the *Quarterly*, the issues of April and July, 1927. An account of its most notable event, the meeting of the constitutional convention which framed the document under which Florida became a state, has been written by Mr. F. W. Hoskins and will appear in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

DUNCAN UPSHAW FLETCHER

He who moves with the tide of liberalism knows when life comes to a close that he has been on the side of the angels, that he has marched with those who since the beginning of history have endeavored to make of this world a kingdom of God. Henry Morgenthau, Sr.

In the death of Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, in Washington on June 17, the Florida Historical Society lost its oldest honorary member, Florida one of its foremost citizens, and the nation one of the few men (to serve twenty-seven years in its Senate.

Born in Sumter County, Georgia, January 6, 1859, Mr. Fletcher was graduated from Vanderbilt University in 1880 and removed to Florida the next year to practice law in Jacksonville, which thereafter was his home. Twice mayor of that city-the last time following the disastrous fire of 1901-a member of the Florida House of Representatives in 1893, for several years chairman of the Duval County Board of Public Instruction, and chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee from 1904 to 1908, he was chosen by his party as its nominee for the United States Senate in the latter year and served continuously in that body until his death at the age of seventy-seven years.

During the World War in the second Wilson administration he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, and at the time of his death chairman of its Committee on Banking and Currency, these positions imposing on him responsibility for many important acts of Congress.

Never a radical, never a reactionary, sometimes conservative, sometimes more progressive, probably the elastic term "liberal" best describes Senator Fletcher's philosophy of politics, life, and religion. No reference to him would be complete that did not

note the sincerity of his religious convictions, his faith in "the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the leadership of Jesus."

As we bid farewell to a great public leader and (to hundreds of Floridians) an esteemed and beloved personal friend, we may believe that our parting words have already greeted him upon the farther shore:

"Well done."

-A. H. R.